[Constitution as of 1949]

185 471 Art. 11. The economic life of the Russian SFSR is determined and directed by the State National-Economic Plan with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material and cultural level of the working people and of consolidating the socialist independence of the country and strengthening its defensive capacity.

● 461 Art. 12. In the Russian SFSR work is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Russian SFSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

643 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

is a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Russian SFSR ensures to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

Outside of the spheres set forth in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Russian SFSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

631 Art. 14. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic consists of the Altai, Krasnodar, Krasnoiarsk, Maritime, Stavropol and Khabarovsk Territories; the Archangel, Astrakhan, Briansk, Velikie Luki, Vladimir, Vologda, Voronezh, Gorky, Grozny, Ivanovo, Irkutsk, Kaliningrad, Kalinin, Kaluga, Kemerovo, Kirov, Kostroma, Crimean, Kuibyshev, Kurgan, Kursk, Leningrad, Molotov, Moscow, Murmansk, Novgorod, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Orel, Penza, Pskov, Rostov, Riazan, Saratov, Sakhalin, Sverdlovsk, Smolensk, Stalingrad, Tambov, Tomsk, Tula, Tiumen, Ulianovsk, Chelia-binsk, Chita, Chkalov, Yaroslav and Amur Regions; the Tatar, Bashkir, Dagestan, Buriat-Mongolian, Kabardinian, Komi, Mari, Mordovian, North Ossetian, Udmurt, Chuvash and Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics; and the Adygei, Jewish, Oirot, Tuvinian, Khakass and Cherkess Autonomous Regions.

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This trend to expropriate the peasants and to overspecialize them as a means of political and economic control found its expression in the recent development of Bolshevik ideology. In the utterances of Party leaders and in the Soviet press it is being stressed that the conditions in the Soviet Union are already so advanced that the Soviet state is ready to move from socialism into the first levels of a limited Communism. This first phase of Communism will consist of the elimination of differences between industrial and agricultural work, between industrial workers and the peasantry ("Liquidating the contrast between the city and the village"). Thus it is pointed out, the old opposition between the country and the city will vanish and also cultural and psychological differences between these two strata will disappear. Every person will become engaged in a special "technical-engineering" task and all will be equal and like brothers.

As a result of such development, it is said that even the differences between the manual laborer and the intellectual worker will eventually be abolished and thus the classless and anarchic society envisaged in socialist writings and rooted in the traditions of the Slav culture will be finally achieved.[11] Productive forces will develop an abundance of all consumer goods whose distribution will be on the basis of exchange and according to one's needs. There will be no monetary relations and no differences in social status.

It is clearly and repeatedly emphasized, however, that nobody should mistake this change from socialism to communism as a "withering away" of the state. The state, say the Bolsheviks, must remain "strong" for the needs of defense,[12] until the Soviet system spreads over the entire earth.

II

Total power concentrated in the hands of Bolshevik conspirators as a means of perpetuation of their rule led to compulsory regimentation of all labor, to speed-up system, and to intensified differentiation in skill, income, and status within the working classes. The aim of these measures is to increase production and to control the working classes by breaking their group solidarity and by tying the laborer to his machine and the office worker to

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461 his desk in the same way as the peasant has been bound to the 661 land.[13]

464 The Party hierarchy has also passed a decree which enables the Party to keep the youth under its complete control. The de- 882 cree orders mobilization of hundreds of thousand of Soviet youths to be trained annually as labor reserve. All those who go through such a training are "considered mobilized and under obligation to work four successive years in state enterprises in accordance with the directive of the general officer of Labor Reserves . . ."[14] Along the same lines of labor mobilization and economic regimentation a decree was passed according to which every skilled laborer, technician, engineer, and factory employee could be ordered moved from one factory to another in any location in the Soviet Union according to the needs of industrialization.[15]

475 In accordance with the need for total control of the working 467 classes and of economic production the management of the factories was completely removed from the control or influence of the workers and centralized in the hands of the factory directors (*edinonachalie*). These became responsible for failure in output, for waste and for low quality of products. In such an industrial system the trade unions have become instruments of regimentation and speed-up. They ceased to be an institution for the protection of the rights and interests of the working class and instead evolved into an organization of overseers and labor drivers. The trade unions' Charter of 1949 expressly states this function:

461 Mobilization of all factory workers and employees for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the production plan, for the strengthening of labor discipline, and for the development of socialist competition.

Elaboration of practical measures for the stepping up of labor productivity, improvement of the quality of production, reduction of production costs, and raising of profitableness of the enterprise.[16]

In the same manner, one of the May Day slogans of 1952 reads: "Soviet trade unions! Develop socialist competition more widely for pre-schedule fulfillment of the state plan by every enterprise."

It was because of this need to regiment labor and make it com-

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pletely dependent upon and submissive to the ruling Party that the old idea of freedom in the choice of work and equality of opportunity was replaced by emphasis on the "discipline of labor," that is, the contention that the objective of high output demands specialization and that in the interest of increasing the skill one cannot recognize the freedom to change one's speciality and one's job.[17] It is also stressed now that an important element in the process of production is the "habit of hard work,"[18] and this habit could best develop as "the first life necessity" if the freedom of choice of specialty and of place of work is restricted and controlled.[19]

In accordance to this imperative need of the Bolsheviks to keep the working classes in complete subjection, Soviet propaganda idealizes hard work. Humble (*skromny*), infinitely devoted (*bezgranichno predany*), and hard working people, those who "burn with desire to work," and those who "sacrifice their lives to working for the cause of Lenin-Stalin," are especially eulogized. In the obituary of some outstanding person the climax of eulogy is the statement that death reached him while he was struggling at his post of duty.[20] In the Stalinist Constitution of 1936 this system of labor subordination to the ruling Party is eulogized as a "matter of honor" and is justified in terms of the right of the Party to starve those who do not work according to the Party interests:

[642]

> In the U.S.S.R. work is a duty and matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."[21]

III

Building on practices of Czarist bureaucratic hierarchy and supported by traditions of patriarchal protection-dependency relationships, the Bolshevik rulers have succeeded in regimenting the industrial labor and in forcing it into unconditional submission to and dependency upon the ruling Party. But they have failed to increase the productivity of labor. Frequent reenactments of measures to increase "labor discipline" indicate, however, that to increasing measures of regimentation the industrial

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461 labor tends to respond by a certain degree of apathy and by disinterest in the Soviet system, also by a robot-like attitude toward work. In such conditions neither the "habit of work" nor labor efficiency can be expected to thrive. Habits are developed and maintained only in circumstances which bring rewards. And as long as the political aims of Bolshevik industrial expansion and militarization have to be achieved by means of abusive regimentation, the working masses might respond by fatigue, disinterest, and withdrawal,[22] just as they did in the days of serfdom.

461 626 Such circumstances in their own turn dictate increasing Party vigilance and government interference at all levels of production. It is increasingly felt that the Party and the government must rely on over-seers and labor drivers who see to it that the Party wishes are executed according to the plan. In a thoroughly politicized society in which labor adopts an apathetic or robot-like attitude toward work and in which the ruling hierarchy tends to be composed of power-thirsty, mistrustful and ruthless professional conspirators, the need of constant Party and government exhorting and watching is always present. There is, therefore, a strong inclination to increase the watchdog, the supervisory and the controlling agencies at the expense of the productive ones. As Pravda itself admits, "On each two workers there is a superior, a supervisor, or a staff member" (*Na kazhdykh dvukh rabochikh odin vyshestoyashchy, rukovodyashchy ili obsluzhivayushchy*).[23]

466 626 The emphasis on controlling, supervising, checking and counter-checking agencies not only increases the cost of products but creates unsatisfactory labor-management relations. The tensions result primarily out of domineering pressures that are exerted on different levels both against labor and against management. The supervisory system and pressure methods of the slave-driver type tend to provoke feelings of humiliation and to create an atmosphere of anxiety, resentment and urges of destructive aggression. In such conditions of oppressive domineering and degrading submission it is very difficult to develop qualities of social and personal responsibility, initiative and self-reliance. In an atmosphere of vigilantism, denunciation, fear and loss of self-respect, work becomes irritating and frustrating; it does not offer

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members was close to 85 percent. And as to the top level of the army command by 1941 this top military hierarchy was one hundred percent Communist.[66]

To maintain ideological purity among the armed forces and to strengthen the Party's control is the specific function of the political officer and of the Partorg (Party organizer). The political officers have now regular army training and in the actual fighting, the political officer becomes "the commander's substitute or takes his place when the commander is disabled."[67] It is this ability of the Party to replace any army commander by an army trained but Party devoted man, that is expected to insure absolute control of the armed forces by the Party even in times of greatest stress and defeat. The duty of the political officers is not only to interpret and to propagandize the latest utterances of the Party leaders or the decisions of the Politburo, but to watch for any weakening of enthusiasm, for any pessimism or gloomy views that may be noticed and to combat vigorously any signs of demoralization. The most important task of the political officers, however, is to cultivate martial spirit and to build up morale, thus creating "a psychological condition which sets up resistance to fear of discomfort, pain, or death."[68]

The goal of the Party is to infiltrate with martial spirit not the armed forces alone, but the whole Soviet population as a means of bolstering the morale of the Soviet masses behind the Bolshevik regime. This is being achieved by means of militarization of all public activities. The Bolshevik leaders consider that militarization is the only morale builder in a situation in which the laboring masses tend to become lethargic, apathetic and disinterested in their work. Speaking of the experiences in World War II, Stalin said that in that struggle people got transformed and acquired new qualities which strengthened the power of the Bolsheviks: "But the people themselves in the rear have been transformed, they have been more efficient, less slipshod, more disciplined; they have learned to work in wartime fashion, and to realize their duty to our motherland."[69] Stalin looks at sports and athletics from the same point of view:

We stood for five hours on the tomb while the show went on. The Generalissimo showed no sign of fatigue. On the contrary, he ap-

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peared to enjoy every minute of the show . . . A final remark of the Generalissimo's while we were watching the sports spectacle was that mass athletics and exercises were fine because of their effect upon the populace. He said, "This develops the war spirit."[70]

In accordance with the Bolshevik need for morale building most Soviet institutions have been militarized, including the Party. Thus when a Soviet subject leaves his school and his Pioneer or Komsomol organization and enters a factory, a kolhoz, an office, a research laboratory, or becomes a Party worker, he has been already trained for work in a society which is in most of its aspects organized along military lines. Anywhere where he is assigned a job he might find military discipline and military relationships. In a number of civilian jobs he will wear a uniform with badges of his rank. In his factory or kolhoz he may become a member of a "shock brigade" or a "hero of labor" and therefore an important link in an all-embracing Five-Year-Plan whose main emphasis is on military preparedness. As a Party member he will take his position in the Party pyramid as a common soldier, as a petty officer, or as a higher officer:

> Three or four thousand men of the high command—the generals of our Party. Then 30 to 40 thousand intermediate commanders; these constitute the officers' corps of our Party. And further, 100 to 180 thousand of the leading elements of our party—these are, so to speak —the subaltern officers of the Party.[71]

In a militarized society military language is used in all activities. Military language has always been a tradition in the Bolshevik Party and has been always widely employed by Lenin, Stalin, and other Party leaders. Therefore when addressing a meeting, or when writing in a newspaper or in a literary or scholarly periodical a Soviet subject is expected to employ military phrases, and use analogies taken from military campaigns and military experiences. He will speak of "reconnoissance," "skirmishes," "encounters," "operations," "outposts," "fortresses," "citadels," "maneuvres," "camps," "cadres," etc. and he will be expected to do his duty on his own "battle post." If he rises to the top of the Party hierarchy and if he especially distinguishes himself in his civil activities he might be endowed

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and harder and to produce more for Socialist Motherland. Not infrequently the brigade leaders have to use physical force to make him get up early enough to work on collective property.

Yet in spite of such unfavorable circumstances, compared to city workers, the peasant might still be in a somewhat better position in regard to security and stability, attachment to his family, to his cottage, to his small plot of land, and to his village. For this reason he has been able to put up resistance against the Party and the government.[83] It is against these scanty remnants of emotional and economic security, of personal independence, of group solidarity and resistance that the Bolshevik rulers are campaigning; it is to eradicate this psychology of group intimacy and opposition that the Party had recently attempted to resettle the farmers and move them into concentrated and urbanized surroundings; the Bolsheviks are exerting all efforts to eradicate these "residues of kulak psychology" root and branch and to make the peasants as completely helpless, insecure and subdued to the Party will as they have done with the industrial and intellectual workers.

There is a considerable disproportion in sex ratio in Soviet rural areas. Owing to great casualties in wars it is estimated that at present there are about fifteen million more women than men in the Soviet Union. And due to the increasing need of manpower to maintain huge military forces and to feed the inefficient city industries, the Soviet leaders are constantly draining both male youths and adult men from the villages in the form of military and labor drafts. They are therefore increasingly relying for agricultural work on peasant women. Hence peasant villages and peasant families tend to be composed predominantly of women.

Here too a family structure with semi-matriarchal traits, similar to the Old-Slavonic family, is being formed. Though in such circumstances the number of illegitimate children is increasing, it is quite possible that the women, especially those who are traditionally strongly attached to their family, are exerting a moderating and softening influence on the personality of the peasant child. An indication of such possible differences in the psychological atmosphere of the city and the country is given in

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newspapers, books, and pamphlets, some of which were printed abroad and circulated freely though often clandestinely among the leading circles of the Empire.

The ruling circles of the Bolshevik Party themselves were always aware that without criticism intellectual stagnation, lack of creative initiative, and bureaucratism would set in. But they could not afford to allow complete freedom of thought and of expression which might eventually undermine their own power. As a result the Bolsheviks introduced a system of "criticism and self-criticism," known as *samokritika.*

According to this practice it is the duty of every Soviet subject to criticize his own work and the work of others in his shop or office as a means of stimulating alertness, initiative, and hard work, and as a way to correct errors. But among the officials who closely watch each other's activities, each hoping to rise on the cadaver of the other, samokritika is often used as a means of intrigue and ruin in jockeying and struggling for ranks, positions, and power. Samokritika therefore has developed into a weapon employed to detect the ideological deviations and diversions and to criticize any lack of sufficiently positive attitude toward the "Party line." In this manner "self-criticism" in the Soviet Union has become another instrument of regimentation and means to increase conformity.

Samokritika is also employed by the ruling circles to manipulate hostilities generated by the Soviet system and to direct them away from themselves and against the managers and bureaucrats located mostly on the lower levels of the Soviet social pyramid. These people conveniently function as scapegoats. It is such people who, together with a sprinkling from the higher echelons, are periodically offered as sacrifice and "purged" or "liquidated." Samokritika is therefore employed also as a check against abuses of power, though mostly on the local level.

In an atmosphere of complete dependence upon and subordination to an overwhelming and infallible power which instils fear and awe, the slightest deviation from the line of thought and emotions as laid down by that distant and inscrutable force might easily provoke anxieties, and a strong sense of guilt. In circumstances in which one feels isolated and without support,